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VI.—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW FOR 1623

That Thomas Middleton was the author of the London Lord Mayor's Show for 1623 has long been known; that he was not the sole author no one has suspected. His pamphlet describing the occasion is entitled *The Triumphs of Integrity*; it was printed by Dyce,¹ and from him by Bullen;² Dyce does not tell where the pamphlet which he reprints may be found; and I have not been able to discover it in the libraries of the British Museum, the Guildhall, the Society of Antiquaries, or the Bodleian.

There is, however, in the British Museum a pamphlet by Anthony Munday—who wrote several of these triumphs—which seems to indicate that he had a hand in planning the festivities with which Lumley was inaugurated. The title-page reads: *The Trivmphs of the Golden Fleece. Performed at the cost and charges of the Auncient and Honourable Societie of the Drapers: for the enstaulation of their Worthy Brother, Mr. Martin Lvmley in the Maioraltie of London. On Wednesday . . . the nine and twentieth day of October 1623. Written by A. Mundy, citizen and Draper of London. London . . . 1623.*³

¹ In his edition of Middleton's *Works*, v, pp. 305 f.

² In his edition of Middleton, vii, pp. 381 f. The title is recorded by Greg, *A List of Masques, Pageants, &c.* (1902) p. 18. For mention of this show, see Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (1843), pt. i, p. 49. Bullen says he has not seen the original of this very rare pamphlet; nor had J. Nichols (writing in the *Gent. Mag.* for August, 1824, p. 117) seen any copy.

³ Aside from a page and three lines of dedication (addressed to the Drapers and signed "your poore louing Brother, A. Mundy"), this pamphlet consists of four pages of description. I find no suggestion of a pageant—in the strict sense of the word—beyond the *Argo*. Of course the companies in their barges accompanied the Mayor to Westminster, as the custom was.

Munday describes the show on the Thames, when the Lord Mayor made his customary trip by water to take his oath at Westminster. This show included a barge, designed like the *Argo*, with Medea “attended with the faire Queene Irene her daughter, and accompanied with the famous Princes *Jason*, *Hercules*, *Telamon*, *Orpheus*, *Castor* and *Pollux* all armed with fayre guilt Armour; and bearing Triumphall Lances wreathed about with guilded Laurell. . . . Sixe Tributarie Indian Kings, holding their seuerall dominions of *Medea*, and liuing in vassalage to her: are commaunded by her to rowe the *Argoe*, all of them. . . . Antickely attired in rich habiliments.

“The Service being performed vpon the Water, the like is done on the Land, all the rest of the day following: alwayes attending his honors seruice and for adding the more splendor to the Triumphs Solemnite.

“Whatsoever credit or commendation (if any at all) may attend on the Artefull performance of this poore deuise: it belongeth to the Arts-Maisters *Richard Simpson*, and *Nicholas Sotherne*, and freely I giue it to them.

“A. M.”

The water-show as described in Middleton's pamphlet does not correspond with that described by Munday; my first impulse, in my attempt to settle the question of the authorship of this show, was to suppose that Munday wrote a plan for the festivities on the water, which had not proved acceptable to the Drapers. In 1617—when the show was written by Middleton—both Dekker and Munday were unsuccessful competitors; we find, in the Grocers' records, the following items:

“Payde and given in benevolence to Anthony Monday, gentⁿ, for his paynes in drawing a project for this busynesse which was offered to the Comyttee, £5.

“Payde and given to Mr Deckar for the like, £4.”¹

Reference to the records of the Drapers' Company, however, showed that such an assumption would not be justified. The Wardens' Accounts for 1621-2,—the mayoralty of Sir Edward Barkham,—show that Munday assisted Middleton in his show for 1621. We find in these accounts:

Item paid to Mr Thomas Middleton, Garrett Christmas and Anthony Munday by agreement for makeinge and settinge out of the Pageants and shewes, viz. the one in forme or likenes of a Mountaine one other of a fountaine with a triple Crowne a third called the tower of Vertue or the brazen tower and the fourth a chariott drawne with twoe pellited lyons and for all charges incident to these shewes } cxvli

Item given and allowed for scarfes, viz. to Mr Middleton and Mr Christmas to each of them xxij^s and to Bell xx^s } iijli iiij^s

These preparations were for *The Sunne in Aries*, Middleton's show for 1621.² In the same accounts for 1622-3, we read:

Sir Martyn Lumley, lord mayor.

Item paid to Mr. Thomas Middleton and Garret Christmas by agreement for making and setting out of the pageants and shewes viz. the one in forme or likenes of a mountayne one other a chariott drawne with twoe Pellited Leyons a Third chaistall Temple and the fourth a royall canopy of state and for all chardges incident to those shewes } clli

Item paid Anthony Munday for an argot } xxxvli

¹ Reprinted in Heath, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers* (2d ed., 1854), p. 413.

² This pamphlet, which is in the British Museum, has been reprinted by Dyce, v, pp. 293 f.; Bullen, vii, pp. 335 f.; in *Prog. James*, iv, pp. 724 f. Cf. Greg, p. 17; J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants* (1831), p. 103; J. Nichols, in *Gent. Mag.* for August, 1824, p. 116, and Fairholt, pt. i, p. 48. Cf. Bullen, vii, pp. 341, 346, and 348, for descriptions of the pageants here enumerated. Garrett Christmas was the engineer who had charge of the scenic effects of more than one Lord Mayor's Show planned by Middleton.

Item to Mr Monday & his partener for the like [i. e., "in liewe of his scarfe"] xls¹

The "argot" of the above item is evidently the "Argoe" of the pamphlet in which Munday describes his show. The appropriateness of the *Argo* and the story of the Golden Fleece to the Drapers is too obvious to need comment; suffice it to say that Munday had used it before.² It is possible that the similarities which we find in so many of these civic triumphs are due to the fact that certain properties owned by the companies had to be used when one of their number was elected mayor; such a limitation must have hampered the poet, whose genius must have strained more than once at the bonds fastened by Economy.

Middleton's reference to the water-show of 1623 is

¹ The "partener" is Mr. Richard Simpson, or Mr. Nicholas Sothorne. This looks as if the poet chosen to write the Show could select the engineer who was to realize his "projects." If there were an honor in having a "scarf" it is comforting to know that Monday received its equivalent in 1623, though it was denied him in 1621.

² As early as 1522, when Charles V came to London, the Drapers exhibited "a pagiaunt of the story of Jason and medea wyth the dragon and ij bollys (*bulls*) beryng the goldyn flese, by cause the emperowr is lorde and geuer of the tewson (*Toison d'Or*) and hedde & maker of all the knyghtys off the tewson, lyke as the kyng of englonde is of the ordyr of the knyghtys off the garter" Corp. Christi (Cantab.) ms. 298; cf. also on this entry, Stow, *Annals*, p. 516; Hall, pp. 637 f.; Grafton, ii, pp. 322 f. My own *English Pageantry—an Historical Outline*, which is in preparation, will contain a detailed account of this "royal-entry."

In 1615 Munday wrote the show for the inauguration of Sir John Jolles, Draper, as Lord Mayor. (The pamphlet is in the British Museum, Guildhall, and Bodleian; it is reprinted in John Nichols, *Progresses, &c. of James I*, III, pp. 107 f.). In this show a goodly *Argo*, with Jason, Medea, and the Argonauts appeared on the Thames; the companions of Jason were "seated about him in their several degrees, attired in fair gilt armors." Jason also appeared in the 1621 show; he sat in the "Chariot of Honour." See Bullen, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 339 f.

brief: ¹ "After his lordship's return from Westminster, having received some service upon the water by a proper and significant masterpiece of triumph called the Imperial Canopy, being the ancient arms of the Company, an invention neither old nor enforced, the same glorious and apt property, accompanied with four other triumphal pegmes,² are, in their convenient stages, planted to honour his lordship's progress through the city." These four are the Mount Royal; a Chariot,—with various famous mayors of London, to whom an allegorical significance has been given,—"drawn by two pelleted lions, being the proper supporters of the Company's arms";³ the Crystal Sanctuary; and the "thrice-royal Canopy of State, being the honoured arms of this fraternity, the three Imperial Crowns cast into the form and bigness of a triumphal pageant, with cloud and sunbeams, those beams by ingenious art, made often to mount and spread like a golden and glorious canopy over the deified persons that are placed under it, which are eight in number, figuring the eight Beatitudes;⁴ to improve which conceit, *Beati pacifici*, being the king's word or motto, is set in fair great letters near the uppermost of the three crowns."⁵ The speech, delivered from this pageant, contained no reference to Jason, Medea, or the *Argo*.⁶

¹ Bullen's ed., VII, pp. 385 f.

² "Movable stage-erections (Gr. *πήγμα*, Lat. *pegma*)"—Bullen. The word was a common synonym for *pageant* in the XVII century.

³ Bullen's *Middleton*, VII, p. 389.

⁴ These were personified, and sat in a pageant at Sopers-Lane end, when Queen Elizabeth passed through London before her coronation in January, 1558-9. For an account of this "royal entry," see the pamphlet printed by Richard Tottill, and reprinted in John Nichols, *Progresses, &c., of Queen Elizabeth*, I, pp. 38 f.; and in Edward Arber, *An English Garner*, IV, pp. 217 f.

⁵ Bullen, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 393 f. This may be the "fountaine with a triple Crowne" of the 1621 records, remodelled.

⁶ Bullen, VII, pp. 394 f.

It is, of course, possible that, after Middleton's pamphlet had been printed, the *Argo* was substituted for the Canopy which he had intended to put on the river; the fact that this ship had appeared in 1615,—and perhaps in 1621,—would make such a substitution easy.¹ Thirty-five pounds, however, was a big sum to pay for getting the ship ready.

The extracts from the Drapers' records serve to clear up the relation between the two descriptive pamphlets for the Lord Mayor's Show of 1623. It is quite clear that Munday was not—as were he and Dekker in 1617—unsuccessful in his attempts to get his plans for the show accepted. As in 1621, he collaborated with Middleton; the nature of the collaboration is, however, clearer in 1623—for Munday planned the festivities on the water, and Middleton confined himself to those on land. If the latter had intended to show an Imperial Canopy on the Thames, his plans were evidently changed; for it is clear that the *Argo* appeared on the river when the show took place.²

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¹ Cf. Middleton's *The Sun in Aries* (the show for 1621—Bullen's ed. vii, pp. 335 f.). The water-show is dismissed with a word—the mayor “received some service upon the water” (p. 339). The first character to greet him on land was Jason, who with Hercules, Alexander, Cæsar, and others, awaited his “most wished arrival,” in St. Paul's Churchyard.

² Fairholt, *op. cit.*, p. 50, echoes Middleton's descriptive pamphlet, and makes no mention of the *Argo*.